DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 319 831 UD 027 418

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TITLE Helping Minority High School Students Redefine their Self-Image through Culturally Sensitive Instruction.
PUB DATE 19 Apr 90
NOTE 18p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 16-20, 1990).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; *Aspiration; Communication Skills; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Enrichment; Educational Strategies; Ethnicity; High Schools; *High School Students; *Minority Group Children; Modeling (Psychology); *Multicultural Education; Participant Observation; Perspective Taking; Role Playing; Secondary Education; *Self Concept; Self Efficacy; Self Esteem; Teaching Methods; Urban Education

ABSTRACT

This report is based on an ethnographic study of a multicultural "college prep" program catering to minority students. It was part of the elective bilingual education offering at a large urban high school, and recorded an 11-year history of successfully graduating Hispanic high school students and sending at least 65% of them on to college. The report briefly describes the study and the research site, the program, and the participants. A major portion of the paper contains an explanation and examples of strategies which became evident in the teacher's approach to motivating the students in the program and to raising their self-esteem. Redefining the image of self is the goal of strategies the teacher uses to help the students imagine success and have the confidence to pursue it. This is accomplished by helping students in the following areas: (1) to be proud of their heritage; (2) to feel that their people can achieve success and reverse stereotypes; and (3) to develop adaptive behavior that will facilitate success in a new culture. The teacher helps the students redefine their self-image as learners and as communicators in the following ways: (1) by raising expectations and standards for academic and social performance; (2) by using positive language in clasroom interaction both to praise students for their successes as well as to correct mistakes; and (3) by giving them the opportunity to "try on" new images through role-playing. The teacher helps them redefine their concept of self as communicators through the director/actor approach. The teacher also uses a director/actor approach to model language production and requires that students imitate the way he, as the "expert," does it. The results of the study and the implication for the design of instruction in multicultural classrooms are discussed. (JS)

ED319831

Helping Minority High School Students Redefine Their Self-image Through Culturally Sensitive Instruction

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Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Education Research Association

April 19, 1990

Boston, MA

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I really like the way the teacher teaches and makes you know that you are somebody and we could do what we really want to do in life. . . . When I get out of high school I want to be somebody special and I want people to see that I am somebody. (Sur.So.3)

The sophomore girl who wrote these lines expressed a sentiment supported by the experience of many minority students (Abi-Nader, 1987; Suarez-Orozco, 1987) They want to *be somebody*. Their vision of the *somebody* they want to be is influenced by values which define the popular, consumer lifestyles advocated by the media--to be rich, to own a car or a house, to have nice clothes, to travel around the world. But these students have other visions for themselves as well. At odds with stereotypical views of Hispanic students as having a welfare mentality, and not valuing education, is the diversity of their personal and professional goals. They want "to be educated," "to be independent" "to find my mother a house," "to be able to help others."

Evidence of such desires among minority students comes from the study upon which this report is based. The study began as an investigation of a "college prep" program which recorded an 11-year history of successfully graduating Hispanic high school students and sending at least 65% of them on to college. The program, designed under a Title VII grant, was called PLAN: Program for Learning According to Needs. (All names are fictitious). PLAN was part of the elective bilingual education offerings at Heritage High, a large urban public school in a northeast United States city. In this paper, I will briefly describe the study and the research site, program and participants. Then I will explain and give examples of strategies which became evident in the teacher's approach to motivating the students in PLAN and to raising their self-esteem. Finally, I will discuss the results of the study and the implications for the design of instruction in multicultural classrooms.

An Ethnography of Teacher/Student Interaction

The theoretical framework for this study is best exemplified by the works of Cazden (1986); Díaz, Moll, and Mehan (1986); Erickson (1986); Heath (1983, 1986), and Trueba, (1988). The investigator's perspective was that of participant observer. A principal research assumption is that effective interaction is structured by meanings created and/or accepted by participants in a communication event (Blumer, 1969) and is embedded in a cultural context (Heath, 1986). Learning how a group operates or why a program succeeds, therefore, requires intimate knowledge of the social context of interaction. Since ethnography provides the most appropriate research model for discovering meanings and patterns in context (Erickson, 1986), it was the approach used in this investigation.

Methods/Techniques

Data Collection: Techniques utilized in this study were participant observation, formal and informal interviews, collection of artifacts, and audio and video recordings. Fieldwork was conducted in an inner city public high school for six months with two week-long followup visits.

Analysis: Methods appropriate to ethnographic research included examining fieldnotes and audio and videotaped classroom sessions, identifying, coding and categorizing episodes of effective teacher/student interaction, abstracting patterns from these categories, verifying that these patterns were indeed motivating strategies used by the teacher, examining discrepant cases, and validating evidence through triangulation (Erickson, 1986; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). It was important to the investigation, for instance, to discover consistency in descriptions and interpretations of teacher/student interaction and the motivating effects of the strategies by present

students as well as graduates, and by people hostile to the program as well as by its supporters.

The Research Site: Heritage High School was located at the nexus of the city's elite academic centers and three low-income/no-income minority neighborhoods. Of the 1700 students enrolled in Heritage High, 81% were minorities, 21% were Hispanics. The school suffered the effects of the desegregation orders of the1970s but a strong headmaster, the twelfth in ten years, achieved a level of stability and academic improvement.

The Program: PLAN provided a three-year sequence of basic skills courses developed under a 1975 Title VII grant to prepare Hispanic students for college. Monolingual and bilingual students could choose these courses which consisted of reading for sophomores, writing for juniors, and public speaking for seniors. Curriculum materials included reading and writing workbooks, *Scholastic* magazines, and a collection of public speaking and communications activities. At the time of the study, the program enrolled 23 sophomores, 19 juniors, and 16 seniors. Although PLAN was designed for Hispanic students, other minority students signed up for the course in order to be with friends or because they heard that PLAN "was a good program to get into if you wanted to go to college." The students attended PLAN classes during the first, second or third hours and went to other monolingual or bilingual classes for the rest of the day. The PLAN curriculum focused on developmental skills primarily based on exercise workbooks in reading and writing. Public speaking activities consisted of reading short stories aloud, dramatizing TV scripts or short plays, and role-playing news announcers and the principals in mock court trials. The students also wrote and videotaped commercials.

The Participants. The key informants of the study were Don Bogan, the teacher/director of the PLAN program; Jan Pierce, the ESL coordinator; three students, and two graduates. Others who contributed to the development of this study included school administrators, counsellors, secretaries, parents, other faculty members, and the police who patrolled the halls. I conducted weekly interviews with the key informants, and observed the students in classes other than PLAN.

Although Don Bogan was middle-class Anglo, he nevertheless brought to PLAN experiences shaped by two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Honduras. He knew the Spanish language and culture and had a strong commitment to improving education for Hispanics. He created an atmosphere of warmth and caring in the PLAN classroom and shared stories about his past with the students as a way of demonstrating his identification with their life and culture. He called them his brothers and sisters, and they, in turn, saw him as brother, father and friend.

The students in PLAN came primarily from single parent homes often shared with aunts, grandmothers and the children of unwed female family members. Many of these families were on welfare. Employment, when there was any, consisted of factory work, custodial service in the universities, hospitals, and office buildings in the area, and in fast food restaurants. Despite the lack of academic or professional models in their families, the students in PLAN dreamed of being engineers, architects, nurses, translators, lawyers, teachers, hotel managers, ambassadors, doctors, marine biologists, dancers, working with computers, or owning their own business. Getting a good education, entering a profession, developing a comfortable lifestyle, achieving respect and success in the civic community are assumed to be part of the entitlements of every American. But when the seniors expressed such wishes in a public speaking assignment (Tape.1.&.2.Speech), many of them ended their speeches on a note of cynicism.

> Olguita: All of these above wishes are just fantasies. But if they would come true, it would be a big surprise to me.
>
> Hilda: And if I have these wishes, I don't know what I would do with myself.

Amata: I know these wishes are exaggerated.
(Tape.1.&.2.Speech).

The path to these goals may seem obvious to mainstream, middle-class Americans, but Ogbu (1974), and other social scientists have shown that no such guarantee exists for minority Americans (Carter, 1971). Education does not guarantee employment and goal-setting does not always result in success. Seeing oneself as a potentially successful person begins with acceptance by a valued community which also achieves success. The Hispanics at Heritage High School do not expect that the terms of this assumption will be true for them. The "valued community" of family and neighborhood is often characterized by poverty, welfare status, school dropouts, unemployment, and sometimes crime and violence. Many of these students, especially the girls, are the first in their families to finish high school or to consider college. While these students aspire to the same material and social amenities available to white middle-class youth, the opportunities for acquiring them are not the same. Underneath their attempts to dress or act like the models they see of Anglo middle-class success is a feeling that they will never achieve the same success in a system which "ignores" them (Jul.Int.2.12).

> That's one of the troubles that people like me confront [when trying to succeed in the U.S.]. In my mind I keep saying, "Forget about everything, forget about people talking about you or not paying attention to you. Just keep going." I mean, I know it's hard; it's always hard to be ignored. And if you don't insist [on getting attention] you might make it; but you might not. (Jul.Int.2.12)

Students do not envision themselves as potentially successful people, nor do they take it for granted that a successful future is awaiting them (Fri.Int.1O.8). Implicit in these perceptions is a negative self-image with the concomitant self-fulfilling prophecies of failure. This paper will examine patterns of interactions between the teacher and his students which seem to contribute to the development of a positive self-image. What gives this relationship the power to transform the students' self-image seems to result from specific ways in which Bogan helps them redefine their image (a) as Hispanic, (b) as learners, and (c) as communicators.

Redefining the Image of Self As Hispanic

Changing the stereotypes of failure for PLAN students begins with changing their attitudes toward themselves as Hispanics. Fear of speaking with an accent (Jul.Int.2.12), denial of one's bilingual status (Sept.9.So), feelings of rejection by white teachers and students (Lin.Int.1O.9; Dav. Int.1O.9), withdrawal from groups or activities dominated by Anglos, indicate that PLAN students experience discomfort with their Hispanic identity. Bogan addresses this discomfort in three ways: (1) he helps students accept their ethnicity, (2) he communicates the conviction that Latins can succeed, and (3) he encourages behavior and values which counteract dysfunctional cultural traits.

Makes Them Proud to be Hispanic. Bogan displays his identification with the Honduran farmers, the "campesinos" he worked with in the Peace Corps, by wearing jeans and suspenders to school, and keeping his beard at a short stubble. He feels that since most of his students have their roots in the rural peoples of Central America, his appearance is an affirmation of their origins (Don.Int.6.3). He is convinced that to wear a business suit or to dress like a "gringo" would put a cultural distance between him and his students. The students tease him about his attire but admire his consistency and feel he is like the grandfathers and uncles they left behind or have heard about from relatives.

> [He and his students are] living the best of both worlds, [he tells the sophomores]. Americans, they only live one. They don't know about Latin, about South American culture; they only know one. Great! They have a good time. But they have one world. We have two worlds. More fun, more

fun. (Sept.10.So). You know something the others don't . . You're getting something the others won't. You have two cultures, two languages. They have one. (Sept.10.Jr)

He backs up this identification by sprinkling his classroom talk with Spanish and encouraging the students to speak or do assignments in Spanish when they feel they can express themselves better (Fri.Int.10.8). His efforts to speak Spanish are limited in the same way theirs are in English--he has a foreign accent and is hesitant in his speech. He knows that Hispanic students often compare themselves disparagingly to Anglo students (Don.Int.11.20). When he distributed a workbook for students of English as a second language, therefore, he showed them the same book in an edition for English-speaking students. He minimized the differences between Anglo and Hispanic students by comparing the exercises in both books and showing that one was not more difficult than the other. English-speaking students needed to learn the same skills that PLAN students were developing (Sept.19.So).

Bogan helps his students feel accepted as Hispanics by expressing a sensitivity to cultural nuances many Americans miss. The students resent, for example, being lumped together as Puerto Ricans when some of them come from El Salvador, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, or Guatemala. "I know all of you speak Spanish," he tells them, "but you all have your own culture. I know the difference between 'una dominicana' and a 'guatemalteca'" (Sept.10.So).

Especially in stories about the Peace Corps, Bogan talks about being attracted to the warmth and openness of Hispanic culture. "La puerta está abierta," he often says, "The door is always open." The students comment on his ability to identify with their culture and to make them feel proud of their ethnicity. "He speaks Spanish and he knows something about our culture" (Ade.Int.2.19); "Sometimes I forget that he's Anglo and I just consider him Hispanic. I feel good about being with him" (Car.Int.10.10). Julio compared him to his other teachers at Heritage High:

> No other teachers like him. I got a bilingual teacher, is like the same culture as mine. I know how to treat her and she knows how to treat me. But in other classes like math, they are Americans and they have to treat everybody equal. They think they know how to treat me, like, how do I behave or how to make me responsible to them. They work like they been working the past ten years or whatever because they teach the same people that they think they are. Mr. Bogan, I think, he's part of us, because he has been working, he had worked in Latin America for years. He understands. He cares about us. (Jul.Int.10.15)

Although some students acknowledge that they have always been proud of their heritage, others say that Bogan's awareness of their cultures raises their consciousness of the value of their ethnic background. "I always felt like that [Hispanic] was just what I was, but he made me proud to be it. And I saw it as an advantage, that I could be valuable to a college environment" (Ame.Int.11.20.86).

> He's proud of himself when he speaks Spanish that he makes you feel proud. Like when he talks about Honduras, he's more proud that he's been to Honduras than I am and I'm from there. He's so proud about it and he knows so much about it that he makes you feel proud. He brings out an awareness about being Hispanic that you might otherwise oversee. (Ani.Int.11.19)

In helping the students accept their ethnicity, then, Bogan first lets them know that he accepts them. His manner of dressing and relating goes even further than simple acceptance. He identifies with their culture and uses his experiences in the Peace Corps

both as a source of information about his students' culture and as evidence of his sincere involvement in their lives.

Communicates Conviction That Latins Can Succeed. Another aspect of Bogan's strategy to help students redefine their self-image is to show them that Latinos can succeed in the dominant community. He regularly invites Hispanic college students and professionals, many of them PLAN graduates, to address the seniors and tell them what it is like on a college campus or in a profession. In addition to graduates and professionals from outside the school, Bogan points to two bilingual faculty members as proof that Latins, especially Latin women, can successfully adapt to new roles in the United States. According to Bogan, these women are "warm and caring," as well as "top professionals." One taught in Russia; both have advanced degrees. Their particular importance, in Bogan's eyes, is that they are "living proof that women can have a career, have a family, be successful, feel good about themselves and be 'ama de casa' [housewife]. And for Latin women, that's critical" (Don.Int.6.3).

Bogan sees his students' success as important, not only for them, but to reverse stereotypes about Hispanics in general. Although he understands the origins of the social attitudes his students express, Bogan helps them to identify those which are culturally dysfunctional in the United States and to develop others which are more conducive to success. "You're not living in Guatemala City; we're not in Tegucigalpa. We're in Heritage City. And, you know, you've got to live by the modes here as I had to adapt there" (Don.Int.9.25). His adaptation is a model for them. The most important of the "modes" he stresses in PLAN are (1) punctuality, (2) independence, (3) delayed gratification, and (4) involvement in civic affairs. In a class discussion of stereotypes, the juniors identified common white, middle class misconceptions of Hispanic culture: "They say we're always late." "Spanish people are lazy." "Puerto Ricans, they only want to have babies so they can get on welfare."

Bogan lets his Peace Corps experience enlighten his tolerance of the distinctive ways in which his students relate in a social context. When they come into the room, for instance, male students greet their friends by shaking hands with those around them (Jan.31.Sr). Girls exchange hugs and compliment each other's clothing or jewelry. Even when students are late, they sometimes engage in these greetings before settling down (Vid.12.13.2012). Bogan learned about this pattern of behavior from his experience of calling together the members of his co-op in Honduras. Although he would set a meeting time for 10:00 in the morning, most of the farmers would not arrive before 11:00. If a farmer arrived after the meeting had begun, he would first greet his friends and neighbors and inquire about each member of the family before settling down to business. Bogan learned that "in Latin culture, protocol and social first, then business" (Don.Int.9.25). Bogan insists on punctuality in arriving to class and in turning in assignments, and talks about cultural differences in attitudes toward meeting deadlines and other obligations. When assigning the senior term paper, he lays down his expectations about meeting the deadline and says,

> Okay, what kind of person do you want working for you? You want the task-oriented person who meets deadlines. 'Specially here in the United States of America, deadlines, moreso than any country in Latin America that I've been to, or foreign countries that I hear of. Deadlines. It's a deadline type of society. (Jan.27.Sr)

In acquainting the sophomores with classroom policy, Bogan emphasizes punctuality, daily attendance, and completing homework. One of the few times he shows anger with a student is when Arturo, a sophomore, comes late to class and justifies his tardiness with an excuse about gymnastics practice. "Set your priorities," is Bogan's advice to him (Nov.13.So). The students typically are late or absent on days they have to give oral presentations. Bogan often thanks or congratulates those who do appear and tells them

that when they go to college or have a job, appearing everyday on time "will make the difference between a good student and a not-so-good student" (Oct.4.Sr).

Another characteristic related to success, according to Bogan, is the ability to control one's own life-situations and not depend on other people. Early in the school year, he tells the seniors about some of the reading skills they need to master in order to be independent when they get to college (Sept.1O.Sr). And when the seniors are filling out their financial aid forms for college with the help of guidance staff members, he urges them to be aware of meeting deadlines and being independent because "We're here to help and support; but you have to show your independence" (Nov.6.Sr). Independence, he says, is the reward for anyone who learns how to take notes, how to do a term paper, how to use reference works, to outline or to read critically. If the students seem bored when practicing these skills, he emphasizes that when they go to college, they won't have to depend on others, but, instead, can help others. Sara pointed out the difference between Bogan and other teachers on the matter of independence:

> Mr. Smith used to take us to the library and practically show us where everything is. We wouldn't, like, really know it ourselves. But you have to really know that and he [Bogan] used to always say that. (Sar.Int.11.19.86).

The quality of independence is especially related to the role of women. Bogan says, "You're in America now, go for it. It's not like that in Latin America, so take advantage of it. Be independent. What I want for my daughter (referring to the Honduran orphan he and his wife adopted) is independence" (Nov.13.Sr).

Not depending on others and delaying gratification are both aspects of self-discipline which counteract stereotypical views of Hispanics and enhance students' chances for success. In a presentation to the seniors, one of the graduates describes how much she likes going to a women's college and that she does not miss seeing the boys. Bogan picks up the comment and interprets it to support his frequent advice about being independent in their relationships and not becoming romantically attached before they complete their education (Grads.1O.8). His frequent advice is to "Wait! The boys will be there for you when it's time" (Sept.1O.So). Graduates who speak to the students about college life help reinforce the concept that delaying gratification is important for success in college in many ways. They point out that budgeting money as well as time in order to cover expenses and to keep up with assignments necessitates decision-making about attending parties, purchasing records and clothes, whether to live on campus or at home, in single-sex or co-ed dorms, to get a job or devote full time to study (Grads.1O.8).

The dearth of leadership among Hispanics in Heritage City is related, according to Bogan and other faculty members, to the lack of social services and adequate representation in employment of Hispanics.

> They're not mobilized; they're not organized; they're not educated to take the powers that their numbers demand. . . to take an intelligent and constructive approach to forcing government to give them their fair share. There are not enough recognizable and effective leaders in the community that can mobilize the rest of the community in getting things done. (Nor.Int.2.16)

Since Bogan has sat on Boards of Directors for social agencies in Heritage City and seen firsthand the bleak picture of services for Hispanics statewide, one of his priorities is to develop in his students a sense of responsibility for becoming involved in community affairs. He fosters this awareness, first of all, by encouraging students to run for class office (Sept.25.Sr), to volunteer as tutors (Jan.17.Sr), to join committees in school and in their neighborhoods--now, as well as in college. Because their high school transcripts will be viewed by colleges and employers for more than grades, he tells them that their involvement in extra-curricular activities is important.

> When you submit that transcript, they don't know you. Ortega? That's a name on a list. The person there will say, "I've never met you; I don't know you. I'm going to learn about you through the record you've got. Now I'm going to look at your record and say, Hmmm, great grades! Good, fine student academically. Now what do you do besides being a good student? Are you involved in the community? You're a good student. But ¿qué mas? What else can you do?" It costs $14,000 to go to ACU. They're not going to give you $14,000 to go to school if they think you're going to just sit there and be a good student. (Sept.10.Sr)

Before senior elections, he encourages students not only to run for office but also to vote and to become involved in class committees (Sept.25.So). He holds the seniors as models for the sophomores and juniors. The seniors who run for office are talked about in each of the other classes and their ability to take risks and become involved is lauded more than their winning an election (Sept.25.So).

Redefining the students' feelings about themselves as Hispanics is a subtle process of raising the value they see in their ability to speak another language, to expect and experience success, and to relate to a different culture. The task of redefining stereotypes is absorbed into the students' consciousness and, for some, becomes part of their motivation to succeed in college. Sara reflects on a television news item which stated that 67% of minority students who go to college do not graduate. "It really scared me because it told me more and more that I don't wanna be a part of that list" (Sar.Int.11.20). The only way to change the stereotypes, Bogan believes, is to multiply the successes of his students. This involves, first of all, helping them to develop patterns of behavior that will make success possible. Students identify with his approach and "take his class seriously. He has a strong feeling for the Spanish kids. He wants to see them succeed" (Rob.Int.10.15).

Redefines Image of Self as Learner

Hispanics at Heritage High do not generally think of themselves as successful learners, and do not receive much feedback to the contrary. When asked if their parents like PLAN or are glad about the achievements of their children, many students say that their parents do not know anything about their life in school (Art.Int.10.7). Many teachers regard the Hispanic students as severely lacking in reading and other verbal skills and therefore not likely to make much progress in school. "Hispanic kids have a real problem with reading, with following directions. They'd rather have someone tell them what to do" (Jen.Int.9.26). Others point to the high percentage of single parent homes, teen pregnancies, absenteeism, and to families on welfare as precluding the possiblity of academic success (Far.Int.11.6; Ros.Int.10.23; Tor.Int.11.18). "What happens to the Hispanic students when they come into this school is that there are kids who don't have a good self-concept. . . . What's going on in Heritage City is that we have such low expectations of these kids" (Jen.Int.10.8).

The students themselves feel that teachers have no time for them. "They won't pay attention to you. They don't force you to do the work; they just give you an 'F'" (Dav.Int.10.9).

> Downstairs [in the regular program], like, if I had a problem, teachers wouldn't help me. They wouldn't have time. Or they would send me to the guidance and they would tell me, "Come back later," or "Come back tomorrow." I felt like they were rejecting me. They wouldn't do anything for me, so I used to go home real mad and cry." (Lin.Int.10.9)

Bogan, on the other hand, tells them, "If you're having problems with your teacher, come see me and I'll give you help. We'll get you a tutor" (Sept.10.So). He arranges to have upper classmembers work with younger students who are having problems in a subject, and

he himself helps them with their work (Sept.17.So; Ani.Int.1.3O). A student who wanted to be in his program but was scheduled for vocational education classes commented on the fact that he:

> [D]id his best to get me out [of the Vo Tech class] and in about a week I was in his program. Right there I found out he was really a caring person and that he would really help you in getting what you really wanted. (Sur.Jr.15)

Another student wrote that he thought "Mr. Bogan is the whole program. . . because there are not any more teachers to my recognition that teach the way he does. . .with much care (Sur.So.1).

Teaching "the way he does" is at the heart of Bogan's approach to helping the students redefine the image of themselves. Ostensibly, the curriculum is a sequence of skill-building exercises in reading, writing, and public speaking. Course objectives are to equip the students with basic competencies that will help them communicate effectively in college. The context in which curriculum and instruction are implemented, however, is shaped by Bogan's sensitivity to his students' cultural and educational background and structured to meet their needs as minority students. As is often stated in the literature, low expectations by teachers, poor self-concept, and limited proficiency in English form a sometimes impenetrable web of obstacles to academic achievement by minority students (Carrasco, 1979; Kagan, 1986; Rist, 1973, 1978). Creative development of effective pedagogy is hampered by the current preoccupation with improving language proficiency which addresses only one part of the dilemma. Because language production may be considered easier to measure and to improve, emphasis is placed on designing and funding intervention programs. Low expectations and poor self-concept, however, are qualitative and elude either measurement or prescription by the usual channels.(

This section of the paper will show that Bogan constructs an environment as well as a methodology that is culturally and pedagogically appropriate for the students in PLAN. He does this by (a) setting high standards and expectations for his students, (b) by using positive language to reinforce learning, and (c) by using role-playing to explore alternative images of self.

Sets High Standards and Expectations. What being a "caring" teacher means to Bogan is that he demands that students take the initiative in their education and not be controlled by their own fears or the judgments of others. Administrators and faculty members also see him as "caring and competent" (Ben.Int.2.26). "I guess why he is able to motivate is that he sets up expectations right in the beginning. He lets them know right away what he expects" (Jen.Int.1O.8). They see him as "better at keeping kids on track, keeping them focused, keeping them disciplined, keeping them aware of what needs to be done" (Nor.Int.2.26). "I'm asking everybody that walks in these doors to reach higher than they've ever reached before," Bogan says, "not only academically, but socially, and, in terms of humanity, to be aware" (Don.Int.2.13).

Bogan's basic stance, "I never give up on them," means that he will not concede failure for the long run if a student cooperates and maintains interest in PLAN. He expresses his faith in such students by challenging them at whatever level of skills they can master whether he thinks they are "college material" or not; "I have to bring her along slowly," he says of a student who is struggling to speak English (Don.Int.6.3). He will confront any guidance counsellor who unilaterally eliminates PLAN from the schedules of students who want or could profit from the program (Sept.19; Don.Int.11.19.86). Frank, who graduated from PLAN three years ago with a "D" average, then went on to succeed in engineering school, is constantly held up as a model for students. Pedro remembers this story well.

> I don't know if you noticed how he always talks about Frank. He used to be a D-student, now he's an "A"-student at college. He always seems to talk about Frank. I want to meet Frank in person. The biggest comparison that he has to Frank is, you know, never give up on a student. Like other people who might not think they can make it or people who don't get such good grades. Well, if Frank can do it, they can. (Ped.Int.1.28)

In day-to-day interaction, high standards are implicit in the instructional activities of the class. Bogan expects his students to make some attempt at completing a difficult assignment: "Just swallow hard. Get up there and give it your best shot" (Nov.8.So). Students are to reach beyond their present achievements to higher goals: "Of course you've got the skills, now use them" (Sept.1O.Sr). They have to keep up their attention and stamina when doing note-taking exercises: "If you don't get it all, leave gaps in the information. . . .But don't give up; just keep on writing" (Jan.16.Sr). They can't escape the consequences of their decisions: "No freebies here," was directed toward the sophomores who did not come to school the day one of their oral presentations was due. "They [who did not come to class] will get what they earn" (Nov.8.So). And often when pressing them to try harder, he will admit: "I know, I'm pushing, I'm pushing" (Jan.16.Sr). Sometimes he reverses his approach in expressing expectations and says, "And nobody has to [speak in public] who doesn't want to. I'll never force you. I will encourage you to. You know how important it is because you're seniors" (Sept.1O.Sr). But, as Pedro recognizes, such a disclaimer does not mitigate the challenge.

> Mr. Bogan says you don't have to study. But he makes you feel guilty if you don't do it. He's, like, giving you a choice but, he's, like, putting an emphasis on you better study or you better go to college. He makes believe that he democratic. He makes you believe that way but then he, you know, I can see beyond his scheme, what he's thinking of. He makes you look at both sides, but he really points on one side more. (Ped.Int.1.28)

Bogan tells the students that the demands he places on them are meant to prepare them for pressures they must survive in the future. "I am trying to get you prepared. I'm trying to ease you into it now, so when we put you under the camera, under the microscope, if you will, you'll be ready for the pressure (Oct.11.Sr).

Whatever the response to Bogan's expectations of his students, they interpret his demands as signs of his interest in their success. As Amelia says, "Mr. Bogan has always encouraged all of us to go out and do the best we can and reach for our dreams even if they seem impossible (Ame.Int.11.13).

Positive Language To Reinforce Learning. Bogan uses classroom language in two ways: (a) to praise students for successes or near successes in doing their assignments and classwork, and (b) to point out and correct mistakes in producing language. Words of praise and encouragement are used both to reward success and to correct mistakes.

Oral presentations are occasions on which Bogan most often uses praise as a reward. He tells the students that speaking in public is the "number one fear" that people have and the reason why it is a challenge to be a leader (Sept.1O.Sr). He knows that most of the students have little or no experience in speaking before a group (Sept.1O.So); that they are self-conscious about their accents and their use of English, and that their command of vocabulary and syntax is limited (Jul.Int.2.12). No matter how faulty their presentation is, he finds some aspect of it to praise--tone of voice, body language, a pause, a gesture, something undefinable which he calls "style," even a single well chosen word--merit praise and congratulations. "In you I see maturity compared with last year. . . .I don't think you could have done it [then]. You're doing it now. There's nothing more I could ask for" (Tape.2.Speech). And again, "Nice job, Sheri, you're starting to develop a style. Certain things that go with certain people. Be encouraged. I'm trying to encourage you" (Tape.2.Speech). When all else is lacking, he thanks them for taking the risk of speaking

before a group and points out the confidence they will gain in time. Olguita's "three wishes speech" is one example. It contained many departures from standard English but was delivered with sincerity and warmth. Bogan's response was:

> I love it. I know it's difficult to go through. I have so many good things to say about that. You have good rhythm. You have a lot of good expression in your voice. You'd be a great story teller to your children. Your voice is great for that. (Tape.1.Speech)

Olguita returned to her seat beaming with delight. Olguita often refers to her difficulties in learning, and expresses fears about her ability to do college work. But Bogan's appreciation of her participation encourages her to try harder. Her response to his steady support resulted in her going from a grade of "D" to being the only senior to earn an "A" in the fall semester.

Bogan's response to Edith's speech is another example of how he uses praise to recommend some aspect of a student's performance for imitation by the others.

> Whew! Caliente or what! [Makes a hot motion with his hand]. I got so much into it, where do I start? I start with feelings. Boy, you take incredible risks to get up in front of people. And what I like is you're sharing feelings that it's not easy to do. Not everybody will unlock their feelings like that. Beautiful. People will recognize it and listen. Your introduction was super. First you told us what your speech was going to be about, then, boom, point 1, point 2, point 3! And then you came back and told us what you wanted in a different way. Very comfortable. (Tape.2.Speech)

The positive tone of this response is typical of Bogan's interaction with students about their classwork. He regards learning as process rather than product and praises the students for taking risks, for experimenting with language or styles of expression, for trying something new. For instance, he will say, "You're very close. You're on the right idea" (Jan.16.Sr); and "Very good try; you almost got it" (Jan.27.Jr). As a model for the other students, Bogan praises Roberto for coming to class prepared and for following directions; qualities he believes are important for success. Roberto's speech would probably not earn a rating of "quality" in his English class, but in PLAN, the criteria for quality are relative to the students' ability. "I can stop here and say, 'No puedo,' [I can't], or I can pick myself up," he tells the students. By turning apparent "failures" into occasions for praise, Bogan believes that he can help the students to gain self-confidence as learners (Tape.1.Speech).

Positive Approach to Correcting Mistakes.. Bogan does not, however, pass over improvements he thinks the students are capable of making. "I strained and I heard you. But I'm your teacher and I'm with you on this. There are going to be a lot of people who, if they can't hear you, are going to bother you" (Tape.1.Speech). Correcting mistakes in PLAN is an exploratory rather than a punitive experience. When the students give a wrong answer, Bogan engages them in a discussion with these questions: "What can we learn from this mistake? If it's not this way, what way is better? What distinction does this mistake help you to make? What better logic does it throw into relief?"

The students say, "He loves mistakes!" (Fri.Int.10.8) and laugh when he says, which he often does, "That's a good mistake to make" (Jan.8.So). That the students do not feel threatened in class, are usually highly participative, and ask questions when they are unsure of what is being discussed seem related to Bogan's use of positive language in the classroom. This behavior did not occur in other classes observed as part of this study.

The strategic use of praise and other positive forms of language both affirms the students in thinking positively about themselves and socializes them into redefining their image of self. Role-playing is another way in which this self-redefinition is achieved.

Alternative Images of the Self through Role-playing. All PLAN classes prepare short commercials or newscasts for videotaping. In introducing the activity, Bogan shows tapes made in previous years by students past and present. During the screenings of commercials or newscasts made by students who have graduated, Bogan talks about their success. "The students you are going to see are now in college," he says (Nov.13.Jr). As the tape runs, Bogan comments on the graduates, "That one just graduated from law school. . . . She's head nurse at. . . .This one's at ACU . . . She made the Dean's list at. . . ." The students also see themselves as they progress from year to year and note their own growth and maturity. In spite of their sometimes blase attitude during the taping sessions, students say that the experience gives them confidence to express themselves in public even though their "heart is pounding" (Mig.Int.12.6).

Simulations. Simulations are used to develop confidence in speaking before a group and to practice specific skills such as evaluating data and drawing logical conclusions. The dramatization of a court case which involves the death of a teen-age girl as a result of a prank is the occasion for learning about point of view. The students have to write a defense and a decision based on the point of view of the girl's parents, the boys who perpetrated the prank, and the boys' parents, and then present their opinions to the class during a role-play/discussion of the case. Throughout the exercise Bogan points out the relevance of this activity to skills they will need in resolving differences of opinion and making decisions in the workplace or in a profession (Vid.2.12.2348).

The confidence students gain in their ability to learn leads them to redefine their image of self and to risk planning for the future. They comment on how PLAN helps them to "express myself and to organize ideas" (Sur.Sr.2); that it is "fun to learn," (Sur.Jr.6); and that the class "really helps to give you an outlook on whether you want to settle for less, or go for it all" (Sur.Jr.1).

Redefining the Image of Self as Communicator

Bogan's own experience in trying to learn a second language and culture alerts him to one of the most urgent needs of his students--skill in effective communication. He believes that the ability to communicate well, verbally and non-verbally, will be their greatest asset for future success (Sept.9.So). He structures an environment which stimulates interaction and he models good pronunciation and delivery of oral language. The development of communication skills takes the form of class discussion and oral presentations such as original stories, speeches, TV commercials, scripts, and values clarification games, simulations, and role-playing. An activity seniors find helpful is the role-playing of interviews with college counsellors or employers. Bogan teaches them how to control an interview in order to make the most advantageous presentations of themselves. Many of these activities are videotaped and replayed for analysis, evaluation, and entertainment.

Modeling Language Production: Director/Actor Approach. Bogan describes his role in improving the students' oral communications as that of a "director." He rarely corrects pronunciation or intonation patterns the students produce in ordinary conversation or when participating in class discussion. But he insists on correct pronunciation in and expressive nterpretation of scripts, stories, and speeches they read aloud. The sophomores and other students who are new to PLAN receive a thorough explanation of the importance of following directions, of repeating unquestioningly the phrases Bogan models when correcting their pronunciation or expression. "George, you're new in the class. Here's how it works: I'm the director; I tell you how it's done. Don't argue with me. You do it wrong; I tell you how to do it; then you do it" (Nov.1.Jr). He describes it as evidence of maturity that they can accept such criticism.

> You are the players and I'm the director. And as director, you have to allow me to tell you the things I think you can improve on. I'm not criticizing. . .

you gotta understand, I'm goin' after you guys because you're good, and you could be better. (Nov.8.So)

The students' reaction to this approach is a shrug and the comment, "Even TV stars have directors." Students learn to speak by imitating the "expert." They reproduce Bogan's intonation patterns without question and feel that they are learning to express themselves better because of his direction. "He would never show us how to do it wrong" (Sar.11.2O.86)

> I notice myself, I never told anybody this before. Ever since I've been in Mr. Bogan's class, whenever I read, I even taught my little sisters. I was telling them that, whenever you read, even when you read to yourself and no one hears you, I express inside, "However!" [She laughingly exaggerates the transitional word just as Bogan does]. I read just like that! (Sar.Int.1O.8)

Increasing the Language Repertoire: Echo-Speech. Not only do students imitate Bogan's pronunciation and dramatic interpretation of readings, they also repeat expressions which are characteristic of his speech. Their retention of these expressions is surprising since sometimes the students do not appear to be listening. Miguel, for instance, seems to be sleeping when Bogan tells the sophomores how they have more opportunities than their parents had. "Their time was yesterday," he says of the parents. "Your time is tomorrow" (Sept.23.So). Months later, Miguel repeats the expression in describing how different life in Heritage City is for him and for his parents. "Their time was yesterday," he says, "our time is tomorrow" (Mig.Int.12.6). Even graduates who are sophomores and juniors in college use some of Bogan's expressions in recalling their experiences in PLAN (Ani.Int.1.3O). Anita, now a sophomore at HolyHill, attributes her sense of confidence as a speaker to PLAN, and uses expressions present PLAN students hear almost daily:

> Mr. Bogan thinks I can do it. Well, I guess I can, you know; so you would really feel confident about yourself. That's what he tried to do. He built up our confidence. . . . He's always pushing me to go onward, so I always try to do more than just academics, you know. So he's always telling you, "That's important [academics], but there's also other things you can try." So he really puts a lot of trust in you, and you feel that you can trust him. (Ani.Int.1.3O)

Imitating someone they consider to be a reliable resource is a strategy the students employ to increase their speech repertoire. This strategy involves an "echoing" or an adaptation of selected phrases or sentences which occur frequently in the interaction between Bogan and his students. By chunking portions of Bogan's speech and storing them for future use, students are sure that they will have acceptable language patterns to use when they need them.

Discussion

Redefining the image of self is the goal of strategies Bogan uses to help the students imagine success and have the confidence to pursue it. He does this by helping the students (1) to be proud of their heritage, (2) to feel that their people can achieve success and reverse stereotypes, and (3) to develop adaptive behavior that will facilitate success in a new culture. Bogan helps the students redefine their self-image as learners and as communicators by (1) raising expectations and standards for academic and social performance, (2) by the use of positive language in classroom interaction for praise as well as to correct mistakes, and (3) by giving them the opportunity to "try on" new images through role-playing. Finally, he helps them redefine their concept of self as communicators through the director/actor approach. Bogan responds to the urgent need of his students to produce acceptable language patterns by modeling expert language production for them and requiring their imitation. The students imitate more than his expression and store away ideas and phrases for use in their own speech.

The modeling and encouragement that characterize teacher/ student interaction in PLAN result in the students' internalizing the concepts Bogan imparts and making them part of their own conceptual frame displacing negative self-images. Most students say that they did not or could not envision themselves in the future before they joined PLAN. "I thought about it [college]; I used to say, My God!" (Fri.Int.1O.8); "I wasn't even thinking of going to college. It was like, oh, I'm going to join the military force. Then after my first year of having him [Don Bogan], I thought, Umm, joining the military isn't all that great" (Car.Int.1O.1O); "I was hanging around with the wrong kids; I got them in trouble and they got me in trouble. And now most of them are not in school. I'm here with the people who really want to do something" (Isa.Int.11.2O.86); "If I have not ever met you [Bogan] that first of my [years] at Heritage, I would have drop out. . . .[You] made me think about my life and my future" (Letter.LR.1.31).

Furthermore, student speech contains explicit and implicit references to insights they have about their self-worth. They attribute their "confidence," "maturity," and "independence," for instance, to the support and encouragement they experience in PLAN. "I didn't like to read [aloud] in class. I was ashamed. I kept trying and trying. He really help me to keep going" (Jul.Int.1O.15). "The best thing I've learned and hope someday I can return to tell him how grateful I am to him for helping me realize that I can make it if I really try" (Sur.Sr.8).

Confidence and self-acceptance include positive feelings about being Hispanic, "He made me proud to be it" (Ame.Int.11.2O.86); about being learners, "Every time he talks about college I get more confidence in myself about going to college" (Sur.Sr.9); and about their ability to communicate in a second language, "What I like about this program is that you learn. . .more English to be a better speaker and listener" (Sur.So.1O). One effect of this redefined self-image is that the students can move into a negotiating position vis-a-vis the dominant culture. They have something to give as well as a right to receive, "I could be valuable to a college environment" (Ame.Int.11.2O).

In summary, a senior's survey response typifies what most students feel about PLAN:

> Mr. Bogan has helped me a great deal. . . .I don't think I would have been able to do so many things, nor to plan my future so good. This class helps you be independent and more mature towards life. The best thing I like about this class is that we all work together and we all participate and try to help each other. . . .I really admire Mr. Bogan for helping [minority] students to be successful. (Sur.Sr.1O)

Bogan's strategies resemble what Cazden (1986) calls "performance before competence," and what Wells (1986) terms "the guided reinvention of knowledge." These terms refer to the effectiveness of teacher help in moving the learner from cognitive dependence to independence, a goal implicit in teacher/student interaction in PLAN. At first, the students see themselves as lacking the skills, talent, opportunities, and confidence to *become somebody*. They do not perceive themselves as able to learn or communicate effectively in the dominant culture. But as they progress through PLAN, they begin to experiment with learning skills, with their personalities, and with their relationships to the teacher and to each other and find that they, indeed, can accomplish their goals and contribute to society as well.

Studies show that with "guided practice. . . students move toward performing independently what they can initially only do with help" (Diaz et al. 1986, p. 212). Diaz et al., for instance, showed teachers how to structure writing assignments that incorporate teacher help which "is eventually appropriated by the students" (p. 212).

The instrumentality of PLAN strategies in accomplishing this move toward self-confidence is evident in the fact that the students participate in the reconstruction of

The instrumentality of PLAN strategies in accomplishing this move toward self-confidence is evident in the fact that the students participate in the reconstruction of their world by utilizing what they learn in PLAN to solve their problems and plan their life. They become autonomous agents of their own transformation. They exercise this autonomy, first of all, by internalizing Bogan's precepts about their self-image. In other words, they imitate the social structures enacted in teacher/student interaction in PLAN and make them their own, such as, "We never laugh at anyone's mistakes." The students take on Bogan's point of view about a college education: "College is important. . . . especially for girls, minorities" (Fri.Int.10.8); they imitate his use of language and adopt his explanations for various phenomena: "Their day [parents] was yesterday; our day is tomorrow" (Mig.Int.12.6). Evidence of the students' assimilation of Bogan's precepts is also expressed in the following quotations from student interviews:

> I always wanted to go to college, but, like, he's the type of teacher that lets you know [that] you can go to any college you want to. You don't have to go to State University, or Heritage Community College because they're cheap. You can go into any school that you want to. All you have to do is work for it. (Ani.Int.1.30)

> The only thing that brought me back [to school after dropping out] was the time Mr. Bogan said, "You could do it if you wish to do it." I knew to myself that I could do it. I know of my ability. But his words were like a tape that remind me of that. (Ana.Int.11.20).

Secondly, students demonstrate autonomous agency when they formulate their own statements or create scenarios about how they will interact with the world. This means that they engage in conscious acts of cognition, acts which involve problem-solving processes of hypothesis building, hypothesis testing, and goal-setting.

In hypothesis building, the students abandon old assumptions which operate as self-fulfilling prophecies of limitation and failure and assert contrasting assumptions in their attitudes and actions. For example, they confront stereotypes such as "Hispanics are lazy;" "All they [Puerto Ricans] wanna do is get pregnant so they can get welfare;" "Hispanics don't want an education;" (Vid.2.24.1989) with assumptions that express opposite views about work, independence and learning. These and other such assumptions are latent in the following excerpts from student interviews:

> I think that, you know, you should be educated and should go to college. Life is not just getting married, having children. (Ani.Int.1.30)

> I feel proud of being Hispanic. I've been proud of what I am all my life. Even lower income is important because I can see how far I'm coming. It's like in science. You get something in motion and it's not hard to keep it going. Like rich people--they already got a start so how do they know how much they did themselves? But I know. I started with nothing and I've accomplished a lot. (Ped.Int.2.13)

> I want to make myself more educated and help more institutions. I'm too young for that now, but that's what I'm aiming for. And if I do that, I think that I can bring myself to another level [of employment] and other people into higher levels. (Jul.Int.2.12)

> Me as a bilingual student I expect a lot from myself both in the Spanish society or English society. (Sur.So.5)

> In the past I have to admit I thought Mr. Bogan nags me too much. I don't feel like going to college. But, now, I just don't know how to thank him. (Sur.Sr.8)

These statements reveal a shift from a non-reflective, passive acceptance of a negative self-concept to an active participation in negotiating the course of their lives and determining how they will be viewed by others.

Besides formulating hypotheses about themselves and their world, the students also learn skills in problem solving and effective communication with which they can test these hypotheses and evaluate the results. One of the juniors made an explicit statement of this intent in her survey response.

> After graduation, I would like to apply everything I learned in Mr. Bogan's class in college and see for myself if everything he often said about college is true. At the same time, see if it could help me get my degree. (Sur.Jr.14)

Hypothesis testing is also expressed in Olguita's goal of "going to a junior college for two years to see if, you know, my mind works better, you know, then go to a college" (Fri.Int.10.8).

Other evidences of problem-solving processes at work occur as the students engage in goal-setting. This activity shows that the students are able to (a) set goals for themselves which encompass several phases of their life and extend beyond college, (b) specify the steps they will take to reach their goals, (c) put their goals into a perspective that integrates an awareness of their own limitations, the need for hard work, the barriers they may encounter, alternatives they can fall back on, and the worth of their contributions and talents.

Julio, who has been in the U.S. from Puerto Rico for one and a half years, describes his goals in this way:

> I don't think I'm going to stay here. I might get my diploma, my high school diploma, and I might get into college and get my degree in engineering and after that I might get a job. If I can get good money, I'll just keep working and then after that, I'll go to Puerto Rico, because I think they need more. (Jul.Int.2.12)

Julio's use of "might" belies the determination with which he actually earned his high school diploma and is now successfully pursuing a degree in electrical engineering (Followup.11.20).

The students' redefinition of their self-image and the reconstruction of their world view come about through the creation and/or internalization of assumptions about their abilities which they did not hold before. Through culturally sensitive instruction that reflects the teacher's knowledge of his students' culture, concerns and needs, the students gain confidence in their ability to learn, to solve problems, to set goals, and to reverse the stereotypes which hinder their achievement.

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